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Program

The
COMMUNIST POSITION
on the
JEWISH QUESTION

for

Survival

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

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Program for Survival

The Communist Position
On the Jewish Question

By Alexander Bittelman

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

New York

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

This pamphlet contains the complete text of the report of Alexander Bittelman at a special national conference, under the auspices of the Communist Party, held in New York City, on November 29, 1946, for the purpose of discussing the Jewish question. In addition, it contains the Resolution on Communist work among the American Jewish masses, adopted by the National Groups Commission of the C.P.U.S.A.

The author is a member of the National Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., the General Secretary of the Morning Freiheit Association, and an editor of the Marxist monthly *Political Affairs*. He is also the author of numerous pamphlets and brochures, and widely esteemed as a leader of the Jewish people.

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PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

THE COMMUNIST POSITION ON THE JEWISH QUESTION

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

Introduction

This is the first national Communist Party conference since the defeat of Browderism, since the emergency Party convention in the summer of 1945. We have, since then, been consistently improving our work, combatting revisionist opportunism and leftist sectarianism, and steadily strengthening our ties with the masses.

This is the first national conference to have before it a Party resolution, which gives guidance and direction on major theoretical, political and organizational problems in the Jewish field.

The resolution embodies the experiences of our Party in the Jewish field for over a quarter of a century, in the course of which, it went through a number of stages of development. The first stage was that of autonomous "language federations," with the Party itself being for a short while a federation of federations. Then came the stage of Party unification and centralization, with the reduction of national group work to so-called "language work" in a very narrow sense. Finally, we have the present stage, with its many-sided national group work on the basis of the Party's general program and under the direct guidance and control of the general leading bodies of the Party.

Within the framework of the present Party approach to national groups, we must work for the elimination of the serious

weaknesses in, and underestimation of, the importance of national group work.

In this connection, and in the light of the forthcoming 25th anniversary of the *Morning Freiheit* in April 1947, it is interesting to recall that the appearance of a Communist organization among the American Jewish workers, as amongst the workers of other national groups (Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, etc.) preceded the formation of the Party by several months.

Here are some memorable dates.

In the summer of 1919, at the national convention of the Jewish Socialist Federation (held in Boston), the Left-wing broke its organizational ties with the reformists. Subsequently it held its own conference and elected a committee charged with the responsibility of calling a national convention for the organization of the Jewish Communist Federation. The Conference also designated "Der Kampf" as its central organ and elected its editor. The Left-wing of the Jewish Socialist Federation was a leading part of the national Left-wing of the Socialist Party, which organized the Communist Party in September, 1919.

The national convention was held in Philadelphia in October, 1919, and organized the Jewish Communist Federation. With the formation of the Communist Party, the Jewish Communist Federation became the Jewish Federation of the Communist Party of America.

We are now approaching the twenty-fifth anniversary of the *Morning Freiheit*. There is a two-fold reason why we are able to celebrate this historic event.

First, because in 1918, the Left-wing of the Jewish Socialist Federation had broken with the reformists and laid the basis for a Communist movement among the American Jewish masses.

Second, because in 1921-1922, the Jewish Communists successfully merged with the bulk of the Jewish Left Socialists headed by Olgin and became part of a united Communist Party.

We hold this conference at a significant moment in the life of our country and of the world. It is a moment when the

American people, headed by the working class, are beginning to meet the intensified offensive of monopoly reaction which follows in the wake of the Republican victory in the elections.

As analyzed by our National Board and as brought forward in the writings of Comrades Foster and Dennis, the coming period will be marked by increased activity on the part of labor and its allies in the economic and political fields, in defense of the rights and standards of the people, in defense of peace, democracy and economic security. The further growth of the labor-progressive-democratic coalition to check and defeat the reactionary offensive has received a tremendous new impetus from the new threats emanating from the Republican victory. This greatly accelerates all further developments in the direction of the organization of a third party and for the emergence of a united progressive candidate in 1948.

We, in the Jewish field, are called upon to play an important part in these struggles. We have seen how Jewish reactionaries, exploiting the just grievances of the Jewish masses against the Truman Administration, tried to direct this dissatisfaction into reactionary channels during the last elections, into support for Dewey, Bricker, etc. These reactionary maneuvers had relatively little effect upon the masses of Jewish workers, due in part to our own timely and effective counter-attack. Sections of the Jewish middle-class did however fall victim to these maneuvers of the reactionary Silver leadership in the Zionist movement and thus helped to increase the number of votes received by reactionary Republican candidates.

Hence, in approaching the practical tasks of this conference in a self-critical manner, we must be guided by the thought that our major task is to combat the reactionaries operating among the American Jewish masses, to build among them the labor-progressive-democratic coalition for the major struggle against anti-Semitism and for equal rights; and to organize and expand the influence of our party, its membership, its press and its organizations under the leadership of our National Committee headed by Comrades Foster and Dennis.

The Role of Labor in Jewish Anti-Fascist Unity

PART one of the resolution deals with our main task—the struggle against anti-Semitism and discrimination and for equal rights. It formulates afresh the policy of anti-fascist unity of the Jewish democratic forces, headed by labor, and grounded in the struggle for labor unity. The main obstacles to anti-fascist unity are the reactionary Jewish nationalists (Rabbi Silver, Segal, etc.); the reactionary Jewish assimilationists (American Council for Judaism); and above all the reactionary Jewish Social-Democrats of the *Forward*-Dubinsky group.

The resolution outlines a course of struggle to create the unity of all Jewish democratic forces. Special attention must be paid to the progressive forces among the Zionists. And there must be a concentration of effort to achieve united action and labor unity with the affiliates and followers of the Jewish Labor Committee. The resolution calls for systematic activity in this field by the Party in its own name. It also calls for full support to the work of the Morning Freiheit Association, to the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the I.W.O. and to the American Jewish Labor Council.

The resolution reviews our general work in a critical fashion. It emphasizes the fact that we erred in not sufficiently resisting the pressures of bourgeois nationalism and assimilationism, as well as in underestimating Jewish work.

In this part of the resolution the following points should be singled out for more detailed analysis.

1. *What is our attitude to the progressive forces in the American Jewish Congress and in the American Jewish Conference?*

We support their struggles for the anti-fascist unity of all Jewish democratic forces, for the defense of the rights of the Jewish people, here and abroad.

Obviously, this is quite different from the caricature and distortion of our position given maliciously by Rogoff in the *Forward* and Auerbach in the *Morning Journal* and, in somewhat more polite form, by Dingal and Shpizman in the *Day*. Contrary to what these gentlemen assert, the Communists are not out to "capture" either the American Jewish Congress or the Conference. Our aim is anti-fascist Jewish unity—unity of all democratic forces, which we propose to promote and support everywhere, including the American Jewish Congress and Conference. And we place before ourselves not the fantastic task of "capturing" the Congress and Conference but the very practical and realistic task of *supporting* the progressive forces within these organizations against the reactionaries (Silver, Segal, for example), of advancing and winning support for our *independent* positions on all major questions, and of promoting in these organizations the influence and leadership of *Jewish labor* as the most consistent progressive force in Jewish life.

We must therefore reject the advice of those who would have the progressives in the American Jewish Congress and Conference stay there passively without fighting for anti-fascist unity policies in defense of Jewish rights and against the maneuvers of the reactionaries. Nor can we heed those who would have the progressives leave these organizations altogether. Both deviations amount in practice to abandoning vital fields of American Jewish life to the reactionaries. We feel that the progressives should work in these organizations for progressive policies to systematically combat the reactionaries and to promote the well being of the Jewish people in collaboration with the progressive forces of the American people as a whole. On this point we obviously have much in common with the position of "Congress Weekly."

2. *How do we understand the proposition in our resolution that the main task of American Jewish Communists in the*

struggle for democratic unity is to combat the reactionaries among the Jewish people, that is, our "own" reactionaries?

We understand this Leninist proposition as follows:

(a) No one else can expose and combat Jewish reactionaries among the Jewish masses as freely and effectively as the Jewish progressives themselves. Non-Jewish progressives are and can be of great assistance with their sympathy and support but they would be seriously handicapped if they were to carry the main burden of struggle against Jewish reactionaries. Just as non-Jewish progressives, Communists among them, can and must carry the main burden of struggle against anti-Semitic influences among non-Jewish masses, so Jewish progressives, Communists among them, must carry the main weight of struggle against Jewish reactionary nationalism and assimilationism among the Jewish masses.

(b) We are an oppressed and persecuted people. That is why our major struggle is for equal rights. This is true for the American Jewish national group as such. But this fact must not blind us to some other facts. There is among us a social group which is part of American monopoly capital, which exercises a powerful *reactionary* influence in American Jewish life. We have a disproportionately large middle-class of which considerable sections are tied ideologically either to bourgeois nationalism or bourgeois assimilationism, thus offering points of support for the Jewish reactionaries. Reactionary Social-Democracy exerts a disproportionate influence—a reactionary influence—in American Jewish life due to the foregoing special features in the social composition of the American Jewish national group, due to great petty-bourgeois influences upon the Jewish workers as well as the surviving social-democratic (Bundist) traditions among the older generations of American Jewish workers. The result is the strong positions of the reactionaries in American Jewish life. This is one side of the picture. In contrast, we find the extraordinary influence of the progressive and of the labor forces in American Jewish life. Hence, the central task is one of combatting

Jewish reactionaries, as well as the exceptional opportunities for success.

(c) All Jews belong to an oppressed and persecuted people. Anti-Semitism and discrimination hit all Jews, though not in equal measure, and fascism aims to destroy all of them regardless of class. Yet it would be the height of folly to assume that all Jews are progressive, are anti-fascist by mere birth. Surely, we know better by just looking at some of the facts of life: at Dubinsky, Rogoff, Chanin from the Social-Democratic camp; at Silver and Segal from the Zionist camp; at the Rosenwalds and the Sulzbergers from the assimilationist camp of the monopolistic bourgeoisie. These facts demonstrate that the decisive influence is *class position*. At the same time, there is a continual conflict between the class interests of Jewish bourgeois circles and the interests dictated by their position as part of a discriminated national group. This conflict produces political vacillations among Jewish bourgeois circles which the progressive forces can and must utilize to strengthen the democratic unity movements. But this can be achieved only on the basis of building the anti-fascist unity of the Jewish democratic forces, the unity of workers, professionals, intellectuals, small businessmen, a unity which includes the progressive elements among Zionists and the broad following of Dr. Stephen S. Wise, a unity which systematically combats our "own" reactionaries and chauvinists.

(d) Lenin, in discussing the task of Communists of oppressed and discriminated peoples, always emphasized that "the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations are constantly converting the slogans of national liberation into a means for deceiving the workers" (quoted from Stalin's *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 171). Isn't that what the Silver leadership of the Zionist movement and the Segals are doing? Lenin refers to these tactics of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed peoples as "subterfuge, treachery, and trickery of the bourgeoisie," and he urges upon Communists of oppressed peoples the necessity to expose particularly these reactionary doings of their "own" bourgeoisie, advising them that they "must particularly fight for and maintain complete and absolute

unity, including organizational unity, between the workers of the oppressed nation and the workers of the oppressing nation" (*ibid*).

(e) As regards Palestine, of which more later, we couldn't even begin to fight for Arab-Jewish unity without combatting not only Arab reactionaries but also Jewish reactionaries. This means that Jewish Communists must concentrate particularly upon Jewish reactionaries just as Arab Communists must concentrate upon the struggle against Arab reactionaries, while waging a general struggle against all reaction. It would certainly be very bad for the cause of Jewish-Arab unity and for the liberation of Palestine if Arab Communists were to concentrate upon Jewish reactionaries and Jewish Communists upon Arab reactionaries. It would be equally bad if they were to follow some sort of "even-handed" or "impartial" line with respect to all reactionaries without paying particular attention to their "own" reactionaries. This would tend to play into the hands of the imperialists first of all, and of the national chauvinists among both peoples.

Thus we must conclude once more that in the general struggle against imperialist reaction in all its manifestations, especially in its anti-Semitic forms, American Jewish Communists must concentrate especially upon combatting the Jewish reactionaries as the basic condition for the building of the anti-fascist unity of the Jewish democratic forces. This will correct one of our major errors.

3. *Do we condemn every individual assimilated Jew as a reactionary?*

Obviously not. Our concern is with assimilationism as a bourgeois ideology and movement, such as the American Council for Judaism, the dominant circles of the American Jewish Committee, certain groupings in reactionary Social-Democratism and similar ideological-political currents and organized movements. We are not dealing with individuals who think they can find or have found a solution to their Jewish problems in assimilation. These individual cases are too

complex to permit of simple analyses and answers. We know of large numbers of Jews, inclined to assimilation, who are genuinely progressive, who actively participate in, and many of whom lead, progressive movements and actions of the American people as a whole. Certainly, we can not consider these Jews non-progressive, let alone reactionary. It is, of course, unfortunate that these assimilated progressive Jews are unable to make their contribution to the building of a progressive Jewish life in America. This is a loss not only to the Jewish people but to the assimilated progressive Jews themselves. They would probably be more effective in the general progressive movements of the American people as a whole if they were also rooted in the progressive movements of the Jewish people.

Furthermore: we know that alongside the objective forces which tend to maintain the stability and vitality of the American Jewish national group, there are also other objective forces which tend to undermine the national group and to produce strong tendencies to assimilation. But to this our answer is, as discussed in detail in part three of the resolution, that for the masses of the American Jews, the way to free and voluntary integration into general American life, as opposed to forced and imposed assimilation, is through the building and development of a progressive life in the American Jewish national group. That is why we must wage a struggle against assimilationism as a bourgeois ideology which reflects the imperialist pressures of Anglo-Saxon domination. That is why we must fight for the right of free and voluntary integration into general American life through the development of a progressive life in the American Jewish national group. It should be added that the success of this work demands a systematic struggle against bourgeois nationalism.

4. *In what way do we support the Morning Freiheit Association and its publications, the "Morning Freiheit," daily Yiddish newspaper, and "Jewish Life," a monthly magazine in English?*

We all know of the great contributions which the *Morning Freiheit*, led by the unforgettable Olgin for almost 18 years, has made to the labor and progressive movements of the American Jews and of the American people as a whole during the nearly 25 years of its existence. Next April we shall be celebrating a quarter of a century of the *Morning Freiheit*, a publication which has left its mark in the labor and progressive movements of the Jewish people in all countries.

The Morning Freiheit Association is the publisher and director of the *Morning Freiheit* as well as of *Jewish Life*. It is a non-party anti-fascist organization around which are grouped consistent anti-fascist forces in American Jewish life—in the trade unions, in the fraternal organizations, in the Landsmanschaften, in the field of relief and rehabilitation, and in the cultural field. It is thus able to develop, as stated in its program, as a leading non-party center of anti-fascist mass struggles, where Communists and non-Communists can collaborate freely on a common progressive program to meet the needs and problems of the American Jewish masses. We, Jewish Communists, participate in the Morning Freiheit Association on this basis. Our Party supports the program and mass activities of the Morning Freiheit Association and urges all Party members and organizations to make full use of the *Morning Freiheit* and *Jewish Life* for the development of progressive campaigns and movements among the Jewish masses. We are now projecting especially the planned circulation and fund drives for the *Morning Freiheit* and *Jewish Life* in connection with the 25th anniversary of the *Morning Freiheit*.

Naturally, for us Communists, it is the Party and its leading organs which lead and guide our work in the Jewish as in all other fields. According to our resolution, National and State Party Commissions on Jewish Work "shall guide the work of the Communists in the Jewish field, under the supervision and control of the leading organs of the Party," formulating policies, directing and checking up their execution. Party Commissions will have to devote special attention to the development of mass activities in the Jewish field in the name

of the Party and to formulate plans for the systematic building of the Party and its press among the Jewish masses.

We must draw the lessons from our failure to build the Party systematically among the Jewish masses; a revisionist error. We must concentrate upon correcting this error.

Three additional observations must be made on this point:

1. We must be alert to and fight against all tendencies to underestimate the importance of Jewish work in English, or to separate Jewish work in English from that in Yiddish and vice versa, or to belittle and minimize the importance of our Jewish work in Yiddish.

2. We must be alert to and fight against all tendencies to make Jewish work the exclusive and isolated affair of Jewish Communists instead of the task of the entire Party, or to fail to make the Commissions on Jewish work integral parts of general Party work, supervised and guided systematically by the general leading organs of the Party.

3. We must display a self-critical attitude to our daily work in all fields.

II

For a Democratic Solution of the Palestine Crisis

Part two of the resolution states our position on all main questions relating to Palestine, reviews our achievements, analyzes and corrects our errors, and formulates a program of immediate action.

The following points must be subjected to more detailed examination.

1. *What were the stages in the development of our policies on the Jewish problem in general and on Palestine in particular, prior to the war, during the war and since?*

We must now discuss this question, if for no other reason than to combat the slanders, libels and distortions regarding our position on these questions maliciously spread by the leaders of the *Forward* and imitated by certain Zionist elements, in

the *Day and Morning Journal*. The Party resolution on Jewish work presents a thoroughgoing program of struggle for the rights of the Jewish people and for the building of a progressive Jewish life in America as the way to complete integration, and outlines a practical program for a democratic solution of the Palestine crisis. As such it has delivered a powerful blow at the reactionary nationalists, assimilationists and Social-Democrats. They feel that this resolution will enable the Jewish masses to find progressive, democratic and anti-fascist solutions for their problems both as Americans and as Jews. They feel that this resolution will prove a potent weapon against all reactionary ideologies and will help build the ideology of the working class and of Marxism. That is why the reactionaries have greeted our resolution with so much hatred and venom.

How did our policies actually develop? Allow me to quote a passage from my article in the November issue of *Jewish Life*:

"In the past, American Jewish Marxists have not always displayed a positive attitude to the rights and interests of the Jewish people, to the special needs and problems of our own American Jewish national group, and to the interests and rights of the Jewish community in Palestine. The tendency was to identify more or less loosely the Jewish people's interests with nationalism and reaction; to identify, for example, the interests of the Jewish community in Palestine with Zionism, and to transfer and extend the correct opposition to nationalism, also to Jewish interests in general and to the Palestine Yishuv in particular. It was a case of falling under the influence of bourgeois assimilationism, which is a reflection of the "superior" race theories of Anglo-Saxon imperialism, as well as of national nihilism, both of which have nothing in common with Marxism. And this happened largely because American Jewish Marxists went to the other extreme in their correct efforts to avoid the pitfalls of bourgeois nationalism—Zionism and Bundism—and of national chauvinism which are incompatible with consistent democracy and with Marxism."

This describes in the main our attitudes and positions—strong points as well as weak points—prior to the war. Does this bear any sort* of resemblance to the libelous assertions of

the *Forward* and its Zionist imitators that in 1929 Communists were advocating Arab pogroms against the Jews in Palestine? Obviously, not. These assertions are as false as they are malicious and they are clearly designed to hamper the further growth of the anti-fascist unity of the democratic forces of the Jewish people.

We have said it before and we should say it again. Prior to the war, American Jewish Marxists manifested a certain lack of sensitivity to the national feelings and attitudes of the Jewish masses. This was wrong. It weakened the effectiveness of much of our splendid work of that period. We should never have forgotten what Lenin said on the subject in the first draft of his "Thesis on the National and Colonial Question." He said:

"Hence, the obligation of the conscious Communist proletariat of all countries to display particular caution and special attentiveness in its attitude to the remnants of national feelings among the nations and peoples that have lived the longest under oppression; equally, it is its obligation to make certain concessions in order to accelerate the outliving of the distrust and prejudices" (Russian edition, Vol. XXV, p. 290).

We had not displayed this caution and attentiveness sufficiently, if at all, in the years prior to the war, while carrying on historic struggles in the interests of our people and its working class. But we began to correct our weaknesses with the rise of fascism and especially with the approach of the Second World War. I quote again from my article in *Jewish Life*:

"But in more recent years, especially during the war against the Axis, American Jewish Marxists made considerable advances on the road to freeing themselves from the influences of bourgeois assimilationism and national nihilism. They thus came closer to a correct Marxist position as well as to the masses of the Jewish people—their needs, problems and progressive struggles. It is thus that the American Jewish Marxists made their significant contributions to the anti-fascist Jewish people's unity for victory over the Axis.

"But in doing so, in correcting many of the errors of assimilationism and national nihilism, we have not fully succeeded in avoiding, and in some fields failed to avoid, the other extreme, the pitfalls of bourgeois nationalism. Outstanding in this regard was precisely the error of not basing the fight for the rights of the Yishuv completely upon the foundations of Arab-Jewish unity for a free and independent Palestine, of not resisting sufficiently the nationalist tendency to ignore and subordinate the interests of the Arab people in Palestine, of insufficient struggle for the correct Marxist positions and for the ideology of the working class. These errors must be corrected thoroughly and completely. A systematic struggle must be carried on against all influences of nationalism and chauvinism. And learning from experience, we must make sure not to retreat back to the errors of assimilationism and national nihilism, but to hold fast to the Marxist positions by combatting both dangers—bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois assimilationism."

This is a self-critical analysis of errors and of how to correct them, in accord with our resolution which makes a real contribution in its thorough and effective Marxist self-criticism. At the same time we point out very clearly that in the crucial years of the war, American Jewish Communists served the interests of the Jewish people and of the American people as a whole by fighting for and building the anti-fascist unity of the Jewish people for victory over the Axis. When the Nazis were slaughtering our brothers and sisters all over Europe, we stood and fought with our people till victory was won. We made significant advances in those years towards a correct Marxist-Leninist orientation on the Jewish question in general and on Palestine in particular. But we also made a number of serious errors which militated against the greater effectiveness of our work.

What is the situation today? We are eliminating and correcting our errors which stem from the pressures of bourgeois nationalism and assimilationism. On the question of Palestine, we are correcting errors that stem primarily from the pressures of bourgeois nationalism. In making concessions, we went too far on many occasions. We were not sufficiently alert to, nor

did we sufficiently fight against, Jewish bourgeois ideological influences. These errors are of course intimately bound up with the general revisionist errors stemming from Browderism. Nor did we apply to our own conditions another Leninist principle, namely, that in supporting bourgeois-democratic national movements in the colonies, we do so "only on this condition, that the elements of future proletarian parties, Communist not only in name, in all backward countries shall be gathered together and educated in the understanding of their own special tasks—the tasks of struggle with the bourgeois-democratic movements within their own nation." ("Thesis on National and Colonial Question," Russian edition, Vol. XXV, pp. 289-290). In failing to apply this principle, we did not carry on sufficient struggle for Marxist ideology and for labor to play a leading role in the progressive people's movements. These errors we are now correcting. In the resolution before you we have the answer to the major problems facing our people as well as a program of struggle.

Does that have any resemblance to the slanderous assertions of the *Forward*, Bevin's supporter on Palestine, and of the Zionist imitators of the *Forward*, that the Communists have turned their backs on the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine. *Of course not*. These are libelous assertions of the enemies of anti-fascist Jewish unity and of a democratic solution of the Jewish problem in general and of the Palestine problem in particular.

2. *What about Jewish immigration into Palestine?*

First, two general observations. Jewish immigration into Palestine is at present not the main question in the Palestine situation, although it is an important one. For the liberation of the Jewish refugees from the German camps, the immediate practical solution is the assumption by the United Nations of full responsibility for securing agreement of the United Nations to open their doors to the entry and settlement of these refugees, including an agreement between the Arabs and Jews in Palestine in favor of Jewish immigration into that country.

The brutal fact is that the doors of Palestine are kept closed

to Jewish immigration by the British government. The Joint Distribution Committee is already orienting on the Jewish refugees remaining in the German camps for the next 2 to 3 years. Thus, the official Zionist policy of making Jewish immigration into Palestine the central question in the Palestine situation is of no practical help to the Jewish refugees since it offers no immediate relief to them, and is a hindrance rather than a help in securing Arab-Jewish agreements for an independent Palestine of the two peoples from which would also follow an agreement in favor of Jewish immigration.

Secondly, both Moishe Shertok and Dr. Magnes have testified before the hearing of the Anglo-American Commission in Palestine that Arab leaders were ready—even as far back as 1936—to agree to large scale Jewish immigration into Palestine provided the Jewish Yishuv would join with the Arabs to secure Palestine's independence. Consequently, instead of waiting until Arabs agree to Jewish immigration, as we are accused of doing, we advocate a democratic solution to the Palestine question which alone will solve the national problems of the Yishuv, as of the Arabs, and which alone will open the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration in conditions of peace, security, and free national development. The alternative to this policy is not free immigration to Palestine, but British terror, insecurity, suffering for the Yishuv, continued suffering of our people in the German camps, and the ever-present threat of Arab-Jewish national strife under imperialist and chauvinist provocations.

Conceivably, the Zionist leadership may succeed in getting "a bargain" from British or Anglo-American imperialism which would provide for a certain measure of Jewish immigration into Palestine. But the price for this would be betrayal of the right of national freedom of the Yishuv, its subordination to imperialist oppression and the continuation of conditions feeding national chauvinism and national strife between Jews and Arabs.

Specifically, what is our position on Jewish immigration into Palestine? Do we recognize and support the right of Jews to immigrate and settle in Palestine? Yes, we recognize, support

and fight for the realization of that right. This is a general democratic* right whose realization is imperative for the free national development of the Yishuv in a free and democratic Palestine.

How do we propose to realize the right of Jewish immigration into Palestine? Democratically. By agreement between the Jews and Arabs of Palestine under the auspices and with the assistance of the United Nations or of the Big Three within them.

Are there other ways of realizing the right of free Jewish immigration into Palestine? There are no other ways to realize that right in the immediate future, and no other democratic way at all except on the basis of full Arab-Jewish agreement for an independent Palestine of Arabs and Jews safeguarding the national rights of both peoples. Agreement with imperialism, British or Anglo-American, may provide some measure of immigration but at the cost of the free national development of the Yishuv, at the cost of a free national homeland for the Palestine Jews, and at the cost of the peace and security of the two peoples.

Thus, the only practical solution for the immediate future is the one based upon Arab-Jewish agreement under United Nation's auspices.

It has been suggested by some that the Jewish masses will not understand our position on immigration and that it is open to misrepresentation and attack from the reactionaries. That the reactionaries will slander and attack our position is quite true. In fact, that is what they are doing. But it is not true that the Jewish masses will not understand our position. Let us recall that a similar position on immigration has been stated forcefully in the Memorandum of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order of the I.W.O. to the last national convention of the American Jewish Congress. What happened? It was received by the progressive elements as a legitimate and important position of a section of the Jewish people while the reactionaries found very few openings for their attacks though they slandered and distorted the position as a whole.

Another example is found in the Open Letter of the Morn-

ing Freiheit Association to the American Jewish Conference in June 1946. It embodied a position on immigration, and on the Palestine question in general which we support. Did the reactionaries find some particularly vulnerable spots in this position? If they did, they have failed so far to make any use of them. The fact is, the position of the Open Letter has made a deep impression in wide Jewish circles, has been endorsed by the J.P.F.O. and by the American Jewish Labor Council, and promises to become a major means for rallying progressive American support for achieving a democratic solution of the Palestine question.

Still another example is the Open Letter to Rabbi Silver by a number of progressive Jewish leaders in all fields. This was attacked and denounced by the Silverites as "party line" and as following the policies of the Soviet Union. But did these attacks find any vulnerable spots in the progressive position on Jewish immigration into Palestine? Not that anyone could notice it. Our position stood up splendidly.

In saying this, we must also add that in applying this policy in the mass movements and especially in joint actions with other progressive currents and tendencies, we must display all the necessary flexibility. This we are doing. Devotion to principle and flexibility in tactics is and must remain our guide. Our position on immigration does meet this requirement. It promotes the interests and rights of our people. It is democratic and in accord with our Marxist principles. It enables us to collaborate with other progressive Jewish forces for common ends.

We must also expose another slanderous distortion of our position, initiated by the *Forward* and imitated by certain reactionary Zionists. It is said that our resolution abandons support to the building of a national Jewish homeland in Palestine, or that it views the national rights of the Yishuv as those of a national minority of the Eastern European type. The truth is that our resolution—unlike the Zionist official leadership—considers Palestine a land of two peoples, a country of two developing nationalities, Jews and Arabs. We believe that both peoples have equal rights to develop a free national

existence in their common country; and, unlike the reactionaries of both peoples, we are opposed to one people subordinating and oppressing the other. This means that we support fully the building of a national Jewish homeland in Palestine. And we say, unlike the Zionist leadership, that this Jewish homeland will be realized only in a democratic and independent Palestine and that it will be the national homeland for the Jews of Palestine and not for the Jews of all lands. Certain Zionists may not agree with this Marxist position on the question of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. In fact, they do not agree. But this is no reason for misunderstanding our position or for distorting it. Moreover, considerable sections of the Zionist movement in Palestine itself, the more progressive elements among them, have been moving for a long time towards a position on the national homeland which rests on the recognition that Palestine is a country of two peoples. We hope these progressive elements among the Zionists will find it possible to draw all the practical conclusions from this recognition, especially with regard to Arab-Jewish unity for an independent Palestine.

III

Problems of the American Jewish National Group

The third part of our resolution presents the content and forms of our work in the American Jewish national group. I need not emphasize the basic theoretical and political importance of this part of the resolution. It has already been so recognized by friend and foe alike. It sums up the thinking and practical experience of our movement in national group work for nearly 30 years, thus enabling us to unfold the most fruitful activities for the building of Jewish anti-fascist unity to defend the rights of our people, for the development of a progressive Jewish life, for the building of the Communist Party.

We must fully grasp the key idea of our position on the national group question. It is to meet the special problems and

needs of the national group as a group and to do it in a way that will promote the unity of the American working class and the democratic unification and growth of the American nation. This is neither simple nor easy. We shall continually be exposed to the dangers of bourgeois nationalism, on the one hand, and bourgeois assimilationism, on the other. These we shall combat systematically, holding fast to our resolution and to the Marxist leadership of our Party.

There is in the United States a peculiar system of oppression and persecution of peoples—usually spoken of as minorities—and of discrimination against them. First comes the Negro people. Against them the white ruling classes have established a regime of naked and brutal national oppression in the so-called "Black Belt" in the South, where the Negro people is developing as a nationality, and a system of national oppression and discrimination in all other parts of the country. After the Negroes, come the various national groups: Jews, Italians, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Yugoslavs, Czechs and others. These are not separate nationalities, nor are they national minorities of the eastern European type. They are specifically American national groupings which are historically playing a progressive role in the growth and development of the American nation.

The outstanding fact to be noted is that the masses of these national groups are oppressed and discriminated against as groups by the so-called "superior Anglo-Saxon race." These discriminations, as is well known, appear in all spheres, economic, political, cultural and social, and assume many and varied forms and degrees of intensity for the different national groups. But whatever their forms, *the content* of these discriminations has a very definite *national* character. The main sources of national discrimination lie in imperialism, in the domination of the trusts and monopolies, in the capitalist system as such. These are the same sources from which stem the most reactionary circles of finance capital that feed and promote fascism. This means that anti-Semitism itself, which is one of the sharpest weapons of imperialist reaction in the United States against the progressive forces of the American

people, is one of the forms of national oppression and persecution. The Mexicans and Puerto Ricans occupy a special position of national discrimination.

The resolution on work among the Jewish masses recently issued by the Communist Party of the United States (*Political Affairs*, Nov., 1946), calls for further study of the growth of the national groups and the perspectives of their development. These studies will have to trace the origin of the national groups among the various immigrants having a common national origin, examine the peculiarities of the older and more recent migrations, and analyze the effect of each wave of immigration upon the degree of discrimination or privilege suffered or enjoyed by the various national groups. We shall have to study more exactly the significance of the relative compactness of the geographical location of various national groups within certain states and cities; the persistence of common occupational patterns within each national group, and the peculiarities of class relations within the general national economy and class relations that this brings about; the cultural and ethnic features of the group as they are transformed by the group's experiences in the United States; the effect of the influences from the old countries on the groups; the concrete course of the struggle undertaken by each group against discrimination and oppression by the so-called "superior" Anglo-Saxon races, for equal rights, for free and voluntary integration into general American life as against an assimilation forced and imposed upon the group by the ruling circles.

It should become the ambition of American Jewish Marxists to carry through such investigations for the American Jewish national group. It will enrich our ideological work and will immeasurably strengthen it politically. It will enable us to wage a most effective struggle against bourgeois nationalism and assimilationism and for our Marxist positions.

THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROGRESSIVE CULTURE

What could be said additionally on the struggle for a progressive Jewish culture? Two things. First, the struggle for a

progressive Jewish culture is in no contradiction to the struggle for a progressive culture of the American people as a whole. On the contrary, it is an organic part of it. Second, the struggle for a progressive Jewish culture is in no contradiction to the Leninist opposition to the slogan of "national culture" under capitalism, or to the Leninist orientation on the eventual merger of all national cultures into a one-world socialist culture. It is, in fact, in full accord with this Leninist position.

I shall discuss the second point first. Stalin's famous examination of the question established the following facts: 1) "Lenin never said that national languages become fused into one common language within the boundaries of a *single state, before the victory of socialism on a world scale*"; 2) "Lenin never said that the abolition of national oppression and the fusion of the interests of nationalities into a single whole is equivalent to the abolition of national differences"; 3) "Lenin never said that the watchword of developing national culture *under the proletarian dictatorship* is a reactionary watchword." (Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, International Publishers, New York, 1934 edition, pp. 257-259; 1942 edition, pp. 204-206.)

It is therefore evident that the development in socialist countries of national cultures is not only in accord with socialist principle but becomes really possible only under socialism; and that the development of national cultures will continue even after the establishment of socialism on a world scale. Hence, it is un-Marxist and unrealistic to orientate on a quick disappearance of national differences, languages and cultures.

But this does not mean that we should raise the slogan of struggle for a Jewish "national" culture. We say this, not because national culture is incompatible with socialism but because national culture in a bourgeois society is a culture which is *bourgeois* in content, "the aim of which is to infect the masses with the virus of nationalism and to consolidate the supremacy of the bourgeoisie." (Stalin, *ibid.*, 1934 ed., p. 260; 1942 ed., p. 207.) That is why Lenin considered the slogan of "national culture" in a society based on the supremacy of

the bourgeoisie as a reactionary slogan. But in doing so, "Lenin was striking at the bourgeois *content* of national culture, and not at its national *form*." (Stalin, *ibid.*, 1934 ed., p. 260; 1942 ed., p. 207.)

This means that the *dominant* culture, *not the whole culture* of a people under capitalism, is bourgeois in content. It means further, that in countries ruled by the bourgeoisie, cultural movements arise and cultural values are created and spread that are not only not bourgeois in content but reflect the life, the struggles and the progressive aspirations of the masses of the people. Some of these cultural movements and values reach advanced progressive stages where they reflect the historic liberation mission of the working class. These movements and cultural values are obviously national in form, although they are not the dominating culture of the nation. They wage a constant struggle against the supremacy of the bourgeoisie in the cultural life of the nation, and for the extension of the influence of the progressive culture among the masses of the people.

Consequently, we in the American Jewish national group are raising the slogan of a progressive mass Jewish culture—not of a national Jewish culture—in accord with the general position of the Communist Party for a progressive American people's culture.

In what sense, then, do we speak of a progressive culture of the Jewish people as a whole, that is, of the Jews of all countries? We base ourselves, first, on the objective fact that there is a culture of the Jewish people as a whole, a culture expressing Jewish national character, which is one of the national attributes common to Jews of all countries. Yet we must take into account another objective fact, namely, that the Jewish people live in many countries and lands under various and different social systems, and are developing different forms of national existence. This fact does not negate the existence of a Jewish national character embodied in Jewish culture regardless of country. But the special conditions of each country in which Jews live do affect the contents of the Jewish cultural values in the various countries and produces certain

language problems. The tendency seems to be for Jewish culture to be expressed in more than one language, in most cases in Yiddish and in the language of the country, in our case English.

On the basis of the foregoing, we can now examine the relation between progressive American Jewish culture and progressive Jewish culture in general, that is, of the Jewish people as a whole. We contribute to general Jewish culture by the mere fact of creating American Jewish cultural values. This is true for the Jews of all other countries. In this way we are all carrying forward the progressive traditions of our people, and enriching its common cultural treasure. Further, we associate culturally with the Jews of other lands, thus influencing each other and continually renewing and reinforcing in our culture the Jewish national character. Finally, we can and do create joint cultural values, and in this field the Soviet Jews can and do play a most vital part.

In brief, we speak of a progressive Jewish culture of our people as a whole in the sense of a culture embodying Jewish national character and giving expression to the common progressive aspiration of the masses of our people in all countries regardless of the different social systems under which they live and of the different forms of national existence which they are developing. We speak of a progressive Jewish culture embracing the cultural creations of the American Jews, the Soviet Jews and the Jews of Birobidjan, of the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine, the Jewish communities in France, Poland and other European countries, the Jewish communities in England, in the dominions, especially Canada, and in Latin America. The fight for such a progressive culture is a fight for a progressive Jewish life, for the survival of our people, for its well-being, for general progress and democracy.

The relationship between the struggle for a progressive American Jewish culture and the struggle for a general progressive culture of the American people is an equally vital question that must be examined. American Jewish culture is *American*, is an organic part of general American culture, just as the American Jewish national group is an organic part of the

American nation. Each cultural movement and value created by the American Jewish national group becomes part of and promotes the further development of general American culture. In this way, the American Jewish national group, like all other American national groups, is making its contribution to building and developing the multi-cultural American nation. But the American nation is developing not only as a multi-cultural nation but is also beginning to develop progressive cultural values of a common general American character. And in this process, too, American Jews participate actively.

Thus, it may be said, that the progressive American Jews participate in the development of the progressive culture of the American people as a whole in two ways: by creating and propagating cultural values of the American Jewish national group and by creating and propagating cultural values of a common general American character. And this holds true in all other American national groups.

Concluding on the third and last part of our resolution, I should like to emphasize once more, by way of self-criticism the following two points. One is that while we are confronted in the Jewish field with two dangers, the pressures of bourgeois nationalism and those of bourgeois assimilationism, we who have been active in this field of work were making mistakes of yielding primarily to the pressures of bourgeois nationalism. Consequently, we must concentrate precisely on correcting and eliminating errors resulting from insufficient resistance to the influences of bourgeois nationalism. Two is the necessity of combatting the pressures of bourgeois assimilationism and national nihilism. All of us must combat these bourgeois pressures but especially must this be done by those comrades who in the past have underestimated Party work among the Jewish masses, who have tended to confuse the position of Marxism-Leninism on the Jewish question with that of national nihilism and bourgeois assimilationism.

Here it is necessary to say a few words about a most extreme case of capitulation to the pressures of bourgeois assimilationism and national nihilism, a case which we meet here and there

among isolated individual Communists, a remnant of days long past but which can still do a certain amount of damage.

This extreme case of surrender to the pressures of bourgeois assimilationism and national nihilism can be described as follows: It considers the national groups in the United States a reactionary phenomenon, an expression of immigrant backwardness and incapacity to become Americanized. It therefore wants our Party to work for the destruction of the national groups and advocates the liquidation, in fact, of the national group work of all progressive organizations and of the national group work of the Communist Party. This extreme case and remnant of past days has made itself felt now and then, particularly in the field of the progressive fraternal mass movements. With what result? With the result that Communists found it more difficult to combat in these movements the real dangers of nationalist deviations, which exist, and with the additional result that the growth of the mass movements themselves was hampered and obstructed.

One of the worst features of this extreme case is that it parades as the only Marxist-Leninist position on the national group question, and on the national question in general, and operates only with quotation from our great teachers. But we know from history that many a retreat from Marxism-Leninism was covered and camouflaged with quotations from Marx and Lenin and Stalin. And we can also see that the so-called theoretical positions of this extreme case are a caricature of Marxism on the national group question. It is not Marxism at all but the reflection of the influences of bourgeois assimilationism combined with Browder revisionism.

This extreme case actually manifests contempt for the masses of the national groups. So much so that certain comrades felt that they could detect traces of anti-Semitism in this hostility to and ridicule of our national group work in general and particularly our national group work among the Jewish masses. It is also a characteristic of this extreme case that it belittles and minimizes the importance — the anti-fascist importance — of the friendship and collaboration between the Soviet Jews and the American Jews, that it ridicules the profound

national hopes of the progressive Jewish masses for the development and success of the Autonomous Jewish Region in Birobidjan, and that it would destroy altogether the movement for anti-fascist Jewish unity of the democratic forces of the Jewish people of all countries, on the so-called ground that there is no such thing as a Jewish people. This extreme case has nothing but hostility to the struggle for a progressive Jewish culture as well as to the progressive cultural developments in all national groups.

In other words, we are dealing here with an extreme case of capitulation to the pressures of bourgeois assimilationism which, because of its extreme nature, manifests even certain traces of contempt for and hostility to the masses of the national groups—an attitude which is commonly associated with the race supremacy ideology of the Anglo-Saxon imperialist ruling classes. It goes without saying that our Party will fight this attitude until its complete eradication.

But in doing so, we must never forget that our past errors in the field of Jewish work, particularly among those actively engaged in it, were the result of yielding to the pressures of bourgeois nationalism. And we must also remember that our fight against the pressures of bourgeois assimilationism, especially against the extreme cases, will be more successful the better we fight the pressures of bourgeois nationalism.

OUR REPLY TO "CONGRESS WEEKLY"

In the light of our position on all the major problems facing the Jewish people and its working class, what shall we say to the criticisms of the editorial in *Congress Weekly*?

The best and most dependable defenders of the rights and interests of the Jewish people are the Jewish workers and their closest allies, the poorer sections of the middle classes and the progressive intellectuals and professionals. Not the monopolistic bourgeoisie and its hangers-on, not the allies of and collaborators with British, American or Anglo-American imperialism, but the Jewish working class together with all other anti-imperialist and progressive forces in Jewish life are the true spokesmen of our people, the defenders of its interests,

the backbone of the struggle for its survival, the promise of its future.

Jewish Communists are part of the Jewish working class, its vanguard, its most consistent fighters. Consequently, Jewish Communists—as the vanguard of their class—are the best defenders of the rights and interests of the Jewish people. Just because the loyalties of the Jewish Communists are to the Jewish workers and their allies, that is, to the masses of the Jewish people; and just because the loyalties of the Jewish Communists are to the ideology of the working class, to Marxism, for these very reasons the Jewish Communists are the most loyal, devoted and self-sacrificing fighters for the well-being, progress and happiness of the Jewish people.

The best and most dependable allies of the Jewish people among non-Jewish peoples in each country and in the world at large are the working classes. The more deeply the working classes are imbued with the Marxist ideology and with Communist principles, the more consistent and militant is their fight in support of the liberation struggles of oppressed peoples, the greater is their contribution to the liberation struggles of the Jewish people. Consequently, Jewish Communists are capable of rendering a particularly valuable service to their people precisely because they are an inseparable part of the general Communist movement of their countries; because the Jewish Communists in each country are flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the general anti-fascist army, headed by the working class. It is the class which is the most dependable supporter of the struggles of the Jewish people against anti-Semitism, for equal rights, for the full development of various forms of national existence. This is our answer to the assertion of the editorial that the interests of the Jewish people are not our primary concern and that we are not able to defend them properly.

Fascism is the mortal enemy of our people. Where fascism is allowed to grow, our people must die, no matter what form of national existence it has had. But who is the destroyer of fascism and who is its cultivator and promoter? Does not *Congress Weekly* know the answer? The cultivators of fascism

are the imperialists and reactionaries, the very same forces upon whom official Zionist policy orients for the solution of the Jewish question, the very same reactionary and pro-fascist forces with whom reactionary Zionist leaders are allied and are collaborating. We must not forget that the Silver-Segal Zionist leadership contributed its share to the last election victory of the Republicans, the victory of the Hoover-Dewey-Taft-Bricker reaction which stimulates and promotes fascism and anti-Semitism at home and abroad.

And who are the destroyers of fascism? Who are the saviors of the Jewish people? The democratic and anti-fascist camp, the camp of the working class and its progressive allies, the camp from which the Communists come, the very same camp which the editorial in *Congress Weekly* declares incapable of defending the interests of the Jewish people.

Congress Weekly is right in saying that Marxist or Communist ideology is the ideology of the working class. But from this great truth some other truths follow, which *Congress Weekly* does not mention. The first is that the working class is the most progressive force of its people and its best defender; and, secondly, that the ideology of Zionism and of Jewish nationalism, is also a class ideology. Zionism and nationalism are the ideology of the Jewish bourgeoisie, that is, the ideology of a class among whom imperialist reaction finds allies and collaborators of considerable influence, even though certain Jewish bourgeois circles are inclined in a progressive direction and are collaborating with the progressive camp.

In short, there are no classless ideologies. There are ideologies of progressive classes and ideologies of reactionary classes. The former are progressive ideologies, and the latter are reactionary ideologies.

Any assertion, no matter from what source or how motivated, that the Communists have adopted a negative and hostile attitude to the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine, is untrue, has no basis in fact, is nothing but slander and distortion. Such an assertion may be helpful to reactionary Zionist politics, but it hurts the Yishuv which needs all the allies, sympathy and support it can get. Nor is it true that we oppose

or are indifferent to Jewish immigration into Palestine. Nor is it true that we are hostile or indifferent to the progressive developments in Jewish culture in Palestine.

Our position on all these questions is crystal clear. It has been made so by the Party's resolution on Jewish work. We consider the Yishuv a vital part of our people, which is developing as a nationality. And we are determined to do all in our power to help realize the equal national rights of the Yishuv, including the right of Jews to immigrate, by fighting with the entire camp of anti-fascism and democracy for a democratic—not imperialist and not reactionary—Jewish-Arab solution of the Palestine crisis, a solution which will lead to an independent Palestine of Jews and Arabs guaranteeing the equal national rights of both peoples. We believe that such a solution can be advanced materially by transferring Palestine to the United Nations. We believe, furthermore, that the key to the solution of the Palestine crisis is Jewish-Arab unity for an independent state of the two peoples.

This, of course, is very much different from and opposed to official Zionist policy, which the editorial in *Congress Weekly* makes it own. But it is a progressive Jewish position shared by considerable sections of the Jewish people in the United States, in Europe, and—very important—in Palestine itself. It is a position capable of serving Jewish people's interests much better than official Zionism, especially the Silver-Segal version.

The editorial in *Congress Weekly* is not satisfied with Jewish life in the Soviet Union. But this is not because Jewish life there is not Jewish enough in form, as the editorial suggests, but because it is *socialist* in content. The editorial quite obviously does not like the socialism of the Soviet Union even though it likes the system of national liberation and true national equality which prevails there. But the inescapable objective fact is that the reason the Soviet Union has this complete system of national liberation and true equality and friendship of nations and peoples is because it is a Soviet socialist state which has solved the national question on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and

Stalin. That is why the Jews of the Soviet Union enjoy complete and real, not only formal, equality in all parts of the country and in all spheres of life. That is why the Soviet Jews have now the opportunity, never before enjoyed by our people anywhere, of building a Jewish nation in Birobidjan, Jewish in form, socialist in content. That is why anti-Semitism is treated in the Soviet Union as a crime.

Our advice to the editors of *Congress Weekly* is to make up their minds that since the great socialist revolution in Russia in October 1917, many nations and peoples have gained the opportunity to develop a national life not on bourgeois but on socialist foundations; that nations and peoples began to develop national lives that are national in form and socialist in content; that the same has happened to the Jewish people in the Soviet Union; that, consequently, we now have in various parts of the world forms of Jewish national existence that are different in content—some being bourgeois in content or predominantly so, while others are socialist in content or predominantly so; and, lastly, that the democratic, progressive and anti-fascist forces of the Jewish peoples of all countries, regardless of their social systems, are capable of collaborating for the welfare, freedom and survival of our people, are capable of working together as a people for the good of our people.

Lastly about the concern of the editorial for the future readiness of Jewish Communists to cooperate with other Jewish progressive forces. On this score there should be no need for any additional assurances on our part. First, there are our deeds. We maintain that no other group in American Jewish life has cooperated so loyally with other progressive forces for common and agreed ends. Secondly, there is our resolution which is built completely on the policy of anti-fascist Jewish unity of all democratic forces. And the editors of *Congress Weekly* know very well that Communist resolutions are not just words but deeds, that with Communists a resolution is a guide to action. And this is what our resolution will be—a guide to the further cooperation with all other progressive forces for the rights and interests of our people. That we shall propagate our Marxist ideology goes without saying. But aren't

the editors of *Congress Weekly* propagating a bourgeois nationalist ideology, doing it not in a Zionist journal but in a publication of a non-party organization, the American Jewish Congress?

The American scene is for us the central and major scene. So it is for the masses of our people in the United States. We are therefore glad to note that the editorial in *Congress Weekly* is able to say that, as regards a number of points in our resolution dealing with the American scene, "we of the American Jewish Congress, as well as all genuinely progressive groups, can substantially agree." For this agreement we shall work. We shall strive to make the struggle for a progressive Jewish life in America the central and all important struggle in the American Jewish national group. This is dictated by the best interests of the Jewish masses in America as well as of our people in all other countries.

In coming to a close, it remains for me to say that in the ideological field, the central and major task is the fight for Marxism, for the Marxist solution of the national and colonial question and of the Jewish question, for the Marxist solution of all major problems of humanity. In whatever field of united working class, anti-fascist and general progressive effort we are engaged, we shall prove of greatest value to our class and people by making our special contribution to the common effort—the contribution of Marxist-Leninists, the contributions of the champions of the working class and of its leading liberating mission in the progressive movements of the people.

COMMUNIST WORK AMONG THE AMERICAN JEWISH MASSES

**RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL GROUPS COM-
MISSION OF THE C.P.U.S.A., OCTOBER, 1946**

COMMUNIST WORK among the Jewish masses, as in all other fields, must be based upon the program and policies of the Party. At the present time, the main approach to our Jewish work is the general line of the Party for the struggle against the offensive of American imperialist reaction and its drive for world domination, for peace and democracy, against the unfolding attacks upon the economic standards and political rights of labor and its allies. The special policy problems in our Jewish work must be approached and solved from the general Party position for the building of an anti-imperialist, anti-fascist labor-democratic coalition, headed by labor, to combat and defeat the warmongering, reactionary pro-fascist offensive of the monopolies in the United States.

The struggle against anti-Semitism and for equal-rights for the Jewish people is a basic part of the general struggle against the imperialist offensive. It is therefore the duty and responsibility of all progressive forces of the American people, especially of labor, the trade unions, and the Communist Party, to fight militantly for the outlawing of anti-Semitism and against all forms of discrimination and segregation.

Since anti-Semitism is fundamentally a product of social systems of class and national oppression in this country, it will be completely and permanently uprooted, and eventually disappear altogether, only with the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism in the United States. But the fight to combat anti-Semitism, to outlaw it, and to protect the equal rights of the Jewish masses against all forms of dis-

crimination, is a fight of a general democratic character to win equal rights for all. It is a major part of the struggle against imperialist reaction which uses anti-Semitism as one of its chief weapons to divide and demoralize the progressive movements of the people and to strengthen monopoly rule. The fight against anti-Semitism is a central task in the struggle to uproot fascism. Anti-Semitism is one of the main pillars of fascism, *i.e.*, of the open and terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary sections of finance capital. It is a means for the physical annihilation of the Jewish people. The fight against anti-Semitism and for equal rights for the Jewish people is a fight against all reactionary, imperialist, and pro-fascist ideologies of race superiority and supremacy, against Jim Crowism and all forms of national oppression of the Negro people, against the theory of Anglo-Saxon or white race "superiority." It is a fight for the brotherhood of nations and peoples and for the democratic unity and solidarity of the American people and its working class.

It is labor and its progressive organizations that must assume the main responsibility for combatting anti-Semitism and its penetration among the working people, in order to protect the unity and integrity of the labor movement which the monopolies are trying to undermine.

A major phase of the struggle against anti-Semitism must be a systematic and persistent fight against all forms of anti-Jewish discrimination. These discriminations in employment, in education, in political rights, and social relations, are now on the increase due to the offensive of imperialist reaction in the United States. All nationality groups in the United States are victims of such types of discriminations. In the case of the Negro people, they have assumed, in a growing number of cases, the dastardly form of fascist-like murderous attacks and persecutions. These are also beginning to be practiced against Jews. Hence, the fight against all forms of national, racial, and religious discrimination has become a central task of the American people, especially of the labor movement, as an inseparable part of the fight for peace, democracy, equal rights and economic security.

I. The General Situation and Immediate Tasks

An analysis of the present situation among the American Jewish masses discloses the following characteristics:

1. A growing awareness of the new anti-Semitic and pro-fascist dangers, accompanying the warmongering, imperialist offensive of the American monopolies, and of the special threats to the Jewish people inherent in these dangers.

2. There is a relatively high degree of understanding among Jewish workers, and growing middle class circles as well, that the fight against the new anti-Semitic dangers can be waged effectively only in alliance with labor, with the Negro people whose political weight in progressive American life is continually growing, with other nationally discriminated and persecuted groups, and with all the progressive movements of the American people. At the same time, there is a distinct increase in the activities of the reactionaries among the Jewish masses, *i.e.*, of reactionary bourgeois-nationalists, bourgeois-assimilationists and Social-Democrats.

3. There is a growing mistrust among the Jewish masses in the Truman Administration. This results from the general political course of the Administration in internal and external affairs, a course which is imperialist and reactionary. Most particularly, the Jewish masses are affected by the Administration's yielding to the warmongering and anti-Soviet incitements of the monopolies, by its betrayal of the fight for the F.E.P.C., by its failure to combat anti-Semitism, by its hypocritical and imperialist course in Palestine, and by its continual departure from Roosevelt's progressive policies.

4. Republican party circles among the Jewish people demonstrate awareness of new opportunities for reaction. This adds to the serious danger of reactionary Republican electoral victories and of a strengthened reactionary bipartisan coalition in Congress. But more pronounced among the Jewish masses is the trend toward the developing labor-democratic coalition and toward the progressive forces of the third-party

movements, although old loyalties and traditional ties to the Democratic party still play an important part.

5. There are growing trends among Jewish workers toward the progressive forces in the labor movement, in the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. This is especially noticeable among the native-born, but is also very evident among the naturalized. Yet the strength of the reactionary Social-Democrats is still considerable in American Jewish life. This strength has its source not only in the strategic positions of the Jewish *Daily Forward* group in certain trade unions and fraternal organizations (I. L. G. W. U., Workmen's Circle) as well as in some political movements (Liberal Party), but also in special Jewish organizations and in the special field of interests of the Jewish nationality group. The reactionary Social-Democrats exploit this field largely through their domination of the Jewish Labor Committee. In the cultural field, the reactionary Social-Democrats operate particularly by exploiting the Jewish Scientific Institute (Y. W. O.) for reactionary political purposes.

6. Communist influence among the Jewish masses is growing. This results, first of all, from the increasing realization that the Communist Party is not only the best defender of the economic and political aims of labor, but that it has also proven the most consistent fighter against anti-Semitism, reaction, and fascism.

While gravely hampered by still existing remnants of Browder revisionism, Communist work among the Jewish masses has contributed materially toward strengthening the influence of the Party among the Jewish workers and also among sections of the middle classes.

Finally, a potent factor in the building up of anti-fascist influence among the American Jewish masses in this period has been the contact and collaboration between the American Jews and the Soviet Jews in common demonstrations against anti-Semitism and fascism and for Jewish rights, and in cultural collaboration. This collaboration was established during the war with the aim of helping to win the war, and is now developing as a force for friendship between the American

and Soviet peoples and for promoting the culture and well-being of the Jewish people.

The collaboration between the American and Soviet Jews has helped in combatting the reactionary influences coming from the ideological and programmatic positions of Zionism, from bourgeois assimilationism (Council for Judaism, the American Jewish Committee, sections of the leadership of the Joint Distribution Committee), and from Social-Democratism (the leadership of the Jewish Labor Committee, the *Forward*, Dubinsky, etc.).

7. Problems of relief and rehabilitation of the Jewish masses in the liberated countries occupy a major place in the life of the American Jewish masses and in the activities of their organizations. In this field, the major activities of the Jewish workers and sections of the middle classes during the war were devoted to Russian war relief, in considerable measure through the Jewish Council of Russian War Relief. The end of the war and the resulting new situation have produced a number of changes in these activities, mainly in the direction of work of cultural relations and certain forms of work of rehabilitation.

Since the liberation of Poland by the Red Army, the work of Jewish relief and rehabilitation in Poland, and the struggle in support of the new Polish state, has become a central task in the general work of Jewish relief and rehabilitation. It has also become a field of activity in which sharp clashes are taking place between the anti-fascist unity forces among the Jews and the reactionary nationalists, assimilationists, and Social-Democrats. The democratic forces support a people's program which calls for the building of the new Jewish community in Poland, while facilitating the emigration from Poland of those Jews who so desire. The reactionaries, although not united, are working against the building of the Jewish community in Poland. At times the reactionaries precipitate panic flights from Poland by various Jewish groups. They exploit the tragic and truly difficult situation which results from the terroristic attacks of Polish fascists upon Jews as well as upon labor and other democratic elements. In all

this, they have the expectation of bringing most of these emigrants into Palestine.

The major issues in this clash are the following: The democratic unity forces among the Jews propose to fight for the safety, equal rights, and well-being of the Jewish people in Poland by joining with the progressive forces and government of Poland to uproot the remnants of fascism and reaction in Poland, to help consolidate the new Polish state, and to support the struggle for Big Three collaboration in the United Nations for peace. They aim thereby to eliminate anti-Semitism and all anti-Jewish attacks.

On the other hand, reactionary Zionists, assimilationists, and Social Democrats propose in effect that the Jews abandon this fight and quit Poland completely. On this basis, the Zionists are carrying on a campaign for mass migration from Poland and the whole of Europe as the 'bourgeois-nationalist answer to anti-Semitism. The reactionary assimilationists and Social Democrats are agitating against the new Polish state and its government as being "impotent" to protect the Jews. They pretend to favor "in principle" the building of the Jewish community in Poland if a government were to come into power capable of protecting the Jews. By this they mean a government hostile to the Soviet Union and friendly to the reactionary forces of the old Polish regime, who are now stimulating the terroristic attacks upon the Jews in Poland and upon Poland's democratic forces generally. This is, in substance, the position of the *Forward-Dubinsky* leadership of the Jewish Labor Committee, a position masked by intensive maneuvering and false pretensions which we must expose by the energetic development of the anti-fascist unity policy among the supporters and affiliates of the Jewish Labor Committee.

The fight against this position of the Jewish reactionaries is part of the general fight against the warmongers and reactionaries. Hence, the work of relief and rehabilitation in Poland, and in the other Jewish communities in the liberated countries is of crucial importance.

Finally, and of a different nature, is the work of growing

numbers of American Jews and other progressive forces for the building of Birobidjan. A broad movement is growing which is contributing much toward strengthening the ties of collaboration between the American and Soviet Jews. This support to Birobidjan draws inspiration from the outlawing of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, the complete equality and fraternal collaboration of all nationalities in that land, and the development of Birobidjan as a Jewish Autonomous Region. This progressive movement in the life of the American Jews must be actively supported.

8. The struggles in Palestine are having many repercussions in American Jewish life. They are taking place in the midst of developing liberation currents in the Arabian Middle East, a growing trade union movement among the Arab workers, progressive developments in the Jewish trade unions, growing solidarity between the Arab and Jewish workers and growing opposition among the democratic Jewish forces in Palestine to the official Zionist Biltmore program for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Furthermore, the struggles in Palestine are taking place at a time when British imperialism is building an anti-Soviet bloc in that region, as well as major military bases, and when American imperialism is aggressively expanding its penetration in the Middle East, while the prestige of the Soviet Union and its anti-imperialist and peace policies are rising. As a result of these developments, the Palestine struggles are having the following main effects upon the American Jewish masses:

a) In the Zionist movement of the United States, the main leadership has passed into the hands of the most reactionary elements, headed by Rabbi Silver. These are also, in many cases, part of the conservative and reactionary forces in general American political life, the forces represented by Taft, Hoover, Hearst, etc. At the same time, the growing realization in Zionist circles that the Zionist program—the Biltmore program of turning Palestine into a Jewish state or Commonwealth—is in deep crisis, is stimulating the development in the American Zionist movement of progressive and democratic tendencies desirous of working for Arab-Jewish collaboration and for

support to the peace and anti-fascist policies of the Soviet Union.

b) Among the wider masses of American Jews, Zionist-influenced as well as non-Zionist, the crisis in the Biltmore Commonwealth program gives rise to tendencies, which must be helped to find adequate expression, toward a united democratic and anti-imperialist position of the Jewish people for the support of the Palestine Yishuv, based on Jewish-Arab collaboration for a free and independent Palestine. This is accompanied by growing disillusionment in the so-called friendship of British imperialism. The illusions which still persist in the so-called friendship of American imperialism must be systematically exposed and dissipated.

9. The reactionary Social-Democrats—the *Forward*-Dubinsky leadership of the Jewish Labor Committee—are developing very intense activities. They are spearheading among the Jewish masses the imperialist war incitements against the Soviet Union and are allied with the camp of “get-tough-with-Russia” reactionaries, with Denikin, Bor and Churchill. They are also working for the restoration of the Second International; and at the same time they continue without letup to struggle against labor unity in America and against the World Federation of Trade Unions. Through numerous agents and emissaries, the dominant leadership of the Jewish Labor Committee is carrying on these reactionary activities, not only in the United States, but in many European countries (e.g., France), as well as in Latin America. On the question of Poland, the *Forward* leadership of the Jewish Labor Committee is maneuvering, due to pressure from below and some internal divisions, pretending to accept the new regime in Poland, while orienting its main political work on a struggle against the new Poland. It will therefore be necessary to unfold a broad campaign for *united action* of all Jewish workers, trade unionists, and other democratic forces, with special concentration among the supporters and affiliates of the Jewish Labor Committee, in support of the new Poland, for the building of the new Jewish community in Poland, for combatting the reactionary forces in the United States which

stimulate fascist reaction in Poland, and for a policy of friendship by the American government toward the new Poland and its democratic government.

On the question of Palestine, the reactionary Social Democratic leaders (*Forward*-Dubinsky-Rogoff) are maneuvering to hide the fact that their line constitutes treachery to the Jewish people and to the Palestine Yishuv. The *Forward* completely supports the imperialist and warmaking policies of Bevin and Churchill, the policies that are responsible for the British imperialist terror and oppression in Palestine and the hateful schemes of partition rejected by most Arabs and Jews in Palestine. However, it is trying to obscure this fact by mildly remonstrating with Bevin for the "mistakes" of his tactics in regard to the Jewish community in Palestine. The *Forward* group particularly supports the policies of American imperialism and its orientation upon an Anglo-American bloc against the Soviet Union, the colonial peoples (including the Jewish and Arab communities in Palestine), and the new democracies in Europe. This duplicity and treachery of the *Forward*-Dubinsky group is alienating from it growing numbers of its present supporters and creating strains and divisions within the group. Thus new and more favorable conditions are arising for united anti-imperialist, anti-fascist actions with workers and groups under Social-Democratic leadership, in the struggle for labor unity and for people's anti-fascist unity.

The reactionary Social Democratic leaders are also very active in the Jewish field. Their main aim is to disrupt the unity of the democratic forces among the Jewish masses. They especially strive to end the collaboration of the American Jewish Labor Council and the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the I. W. O. with the other democratic forces of the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Conference. These disruptive activities receive the support of the assimilationist big bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the reactionary bourgeois nationalists, on the other. This accounts for the periodic get-together of these elements for common action (Jewish Labor Committee, American Jewish Committee, and certain forces, from the Zionist movement) as

against the unity movements of the democratic elements in Jewish life. However, on this issue of Jewish democratic unity the Party has made substantial advances against the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders driving them into positions of partial isolation from the Jewish masses on many practical questions.

In this field, in addition to remnants of Browderism, our main difficulty has been our weakness in helping to overcome the continued inadequate participation of progressive Jewish trade unionists in the fight for the Jewish people's interests and Jewish democratic unity. This weakness is being slowly overcome by the development of the American Jewish Labor Council as an active and leading body of the American Jewish masses. This will help greatly to advance the positions of the progressive forces in the trade union movement.

The internal political orientation of the reactionary Social-Democrats is upon the emergence of an anti-Soviet combination, if need be through a reactionary third party, capable of decisively influencing the policies of the Truman Administration or of facilitating the coming into power of a government that will be so influenced. Some of the political objectives of this Social-Democratic group are being fulfilled in part by the reactionary bipartisan coalition in Congress, but the openly anti-labor character of this coalition makes it impossible for the reactionary Social-Democrats to collaborate with it openly. Hence, their aim is to bring about a somewhat different combination in which the reactionary trade union bureaucracy and Social-Democrats will play a decisive part. Hence, it is necessary to expose the reactionary, divisive, and imperialist character of the so-called "third party" maneuvers of the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders, popularizing among the masses, and winning their support for the developing labor-democratic coalition of all progressive, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist forces, and for the eventual organization of a people's anti-monopoly party.

The struggle to isolate and defeat the reactionary Jewish Social-Democrats is the major task in the struggle for the unity of the Jewish workers and the anti-fascist unity of the Jewish

people. In this struggle we must aim to win the Social-Democratic workers and the masses under the domination of reactionary Social-Democratic leaders to united actions on a broad anti-fascist program of working-class unity, seeking joint action with all elements and groups who favor working-class, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, and anti-war unity.

10. In the struggle for the anti-fascist unity of the democratic forces of the American Jewish masses, the following are the immediate practical tasks of Jewish labor and of its vanguard, the Jewish Communists:

a) The labor, democratic, and progressive forces in the American Jewish Congress (the American Jewish Labor Council, the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the I.W.O., certain forces in the Zionist movement, in the Landsmanshaften, etc.) must be supported in their struggle for progressive policies of anti-fascist Jewish unity in the American Jewish Congress. Support must be given to their struggle for active participation in the fight of the American Jewish masses against the warmongers and for peace, against anti-Semitism and discrimination, for full equality of the Jewish people, and in alliance with the Negro people, in alliance and in accord with the main progressive policies of the developing labor-democratic coalition of the American people, with Jewish labor effectively represented in the leadership of the American Jewish Congress.

b) The democratic forces in the American Jewish Congress must be supported in their struggle for democratic and anti-fascist policies in the World Jewish Congress, in which the democratic forces in Jewish life, especially labor, should be adequately and effectively represented. The democratic forces in the World Jewish Congress must work consistently for the building of Jewish life in the liberated countries of Europe in accord with the unity programs of the Jewish communities themselves. They must support the national rights of the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine on the basis of Jewish-Arab collaboration for an independent Palestine, and resist all tendencies to subordinate the World Jewish Congress to the party policies and interests of the Zionist movement. Collaboration between the World Jewish Congress and the Soviet Jews for the demo-

cratic and anti-fascist objectives of the Jewish people is an indispensable condition for success.

c) A similar policy must be supported in the American Jewish Conference of active struggle for the rights and interests of the Jewish people in the U. S. as well as of those in other countries. To justify its existence, the Conference must begin to function as a progressive factor in American Jewish life, in "the American scene." At the same time, we must support the orientation that the progressive forces in the American Jewish Congress have greater capacities and opportunities than in the Conference to help develop the activities of the American Jewish masses on a democratic anti-fascist unity program.

d) We must continue to work for the elimination of all Browder revisionist tendencies to subordinate the workers to the bourgeoisie. Hence, we must actively promote the struggle for the labor-democratic coalition, headed by the working class, to check and defeat the reactionary imperialist offensive of the monopolies, and systematically build the vanguard role of the Communist Party.

e) We must actively support the upbuilding of the American Jewish Labor Council both as a force capable of effectively challenging the reactionary *Forward*-Dubinsky group which dominates the Jewish Labor Committee, and as a leading factor in the American Jewish Congress. We must actively support the independent activities and influence of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the I.W.O. and help to develop its leading position in the American Jewish Congress. A basic phase of this work is the development of the democratic unity program among the Jewish people organized in the Landsmanshaften.

Full and active support must be given to the work of the Jewish Council (formerly of Russian Relief) in its new forms of activity of cultural relations and rehabilitation, to the Committee for Birobidjan, to the Committee of Jewish Writers and Artists, to the Jewish Cultural Alliance (Icuf), to the Musical Farband, and to the Progressive Committee of the Workmen's Circle.

f) A broad ideological and political campaign must be carried on against all reactionary forces in Jewish life. concentrat-

ing upon the reactionary Social-Democrats and the reactionary forces in the Zionist and bourgeois-assimilationist movements. In this way we must promote the anti-fascist unity of labor and all other democratic forces among the Jewish people, and at the same time popularize the Marxist teachings in all fields, particularly on the question of national and colonial liberation.

g) We must particularly support the policy of collaboration and alliance of the American Jewish masses with the Negro people, as well as with labor, the progressive forces of all nationality groups, and the progressive camp in general of the American people. The Negro people are especially qualified for the role of vanguard fighter and most dependable ally in the struggle against all forms of national, religious and racial oppression and discrimination, and for equal rights. This is so because the Negro people are faced with the task of national liberation in the South, as well as the task of securing elementary and fundamental equal rights in the country as a whole. Hence, we must systematically build the alliance between the Jewish masses and the Negro people, as an organic part of the labor-democratic coalition of the American people, and we must expose and combat all forms and expressions of white chauvinism among Jews.

11. The winning of the Jewish war veterans for the democratic and anti-fascist struggles and for membership in the Communist Party is now a major task. We must note a heightened sensitivity among the war veterans to the dangers of anti-Semitism and an intense determination to fight as American Jews together with all war veterans for full equality. We must also take note of bourgeois-assimilationist tendencies among certain groups of progressive Jewish war veterans which threaten to isolate them from the main democratic forces of the American Jews. This must therefore be counteracted by drawing these war veterans into active struggle against discrimination and anti-Semitism and for Jewish rights. We must draw all the practical conclusions from the fact that the returning war veterans are becoming an important factor in the progressive movements of the American Jews.

12. In the struggle for our policies among the American

Jewish people, we must systematically combat the influence of Jewish bourgeois nationalism and Jewish bourgeois assimilationism. The fact that these influences have not been adequately combatted, especially during the period of Browder revisionism, is now making it necessary to struggle against the danger of deviations toward the ideology of bourgeois nationalism as expressed in Zionism and Bundism. Both of these, while differing sharply on the question of a Jewish state in Palestine, are based upon the reactionary-utopian conception of a Jewish world-nation, with the consequent tendencies toward national chauvinism and separatism. Similarly, we must combat the danger of deviations toward bourgeois assimilationism (Council for Judaism and American Jewish Committee) which reflects the pressures of the Anglo-Saxon race supremacy theories of American imperialism. The fight against the danger of these deviations is also a fight against revisionism and Social-Democratism, which have a close affinity to both bourgeois nationalism and assimilationism. Only in this ideological struggle will we build the Party and its influence among the American Jewish masses.

13. Party Commissions on Jewish work shall be established in all States with large Jewish populations, and a National Commission on Jewish work shall also be established. These Commissions shall guide the work of the Communists in the Jewish field, under the supervision and control of the general leading organs of the Party. These Commissions shall regularly formulate plans of activity for integrating the systematic building of the Party among the Jewish masses (recruiting, press, education, etc.) into every phase of our mass activities and political campaigns, and for the development of mass activities in the Jewish field in the name of the Party.

14. Communists shall render active support to the *Morning Freiheit*, the Jewish anti-fascist and labor daily paper. We will support the Morning Freiheit Association, in accord with its program, as a non-Party anti-fascist Jewish organization, carrying on its work among both the Yiddish and English-speaking Jewish masses, for the development of the *Morning Freiheit* as a unifying political center of the more consistent Jewish anti-

fascist movements, with a broad, mass, sustaining, individual membership and a committee form of organization.

II. Palestine Zionism, the Jewish Yishuv, and Our Special Tasks

1. Communist participation in the struggle for anti-fascist Jewish unity, against anti-Semitism, for the democratic rights of the Jewish people, for relief and the building of Jewish life in the liberated countries, in support of the national rights of the Jewish community in Palestine, and for the building of Birobidjan, has been and continues to be of major importance for the defense of the vital interests of the Jewish masses and for the promotion of the anti-fascist struggles of the whole of the American people. The achievements in these fields have greatly advanced our positions and influence. However, in the course of these struggles a number of serious errors have been committed which militated against the firmer consolidation of the ideological positions of the working class and of the Communist movement.

2. These errors came to particular expression on the following points. While correctly supporting the equal rights of the Jewish community in Palestine to a free national development, we failed to base this support, especially in our practical mass work, upon the joint Jewish-Arab anti-imperialist struggle for an independent and democratic Palestine which would secure and protect the equal national rights of both the Jewish people and the Arab people. We failed to draw all the necessary conclusions from the fact that the first and basic problem of Palestine is the liberation of that country from British imperialist domination, for this is the primary condition for the realization of the national rights of the Arabs and Jews and the free national development of the two peoples of Palestine. Consequently, our fight in support of the national rights of the Jewish community in Palestine became one-sided and distorted, as is particularly evident in the wrong way in which we fought for the abrogation of the "White Paper" and for Jewish immigration into Palestine.

3. It was correct and necessary to support the demand for the

abrogation of the "White Paper" and for the right of Jews to immigrate to and settle in Palestine, but it was incorrect to separate these demands, in practice, from the basic and fundamental demand for the independence of Palestine. It was incorrect to place the right of Jewish immigration into Palestine on any other basis than as part of the task of general collaboration and agreement of Arabs and Jews for common struggle against imperialism and for the independence of Palestine.

4. A similar one-sidedness and distortion characterized our use of the slogan calling for "A Jewish National Homeland in Palestine." This old, widespread, and popular slogan among the Jewish people has been appropriated by the Zionist movement for the promotion of its political aim of turning Palestine into a Jewish state—or Commonwealth, as formulated by the so-called Biltmore program—and for the spread of its bourgeois-nationalist ideology based upon the proposition that a Jewish state in Palestine would be the national homeland of the Jews of all countries. We must totally reject and systematically combat this Zionist use of the slogan of "A Jewish National Homeland in Palestine." The Marxist position on the national question, which is the most consistently democratic position, insists upon the equality of nations. It rejects all solutions which subordinate the interests and rights of one nation to those of another, such as the Biltmore program for Jewish State or Commonwealth, which would subordinate the national rights and interests of the Arab people in Palestine to those of the Jewish people. Equally, the Marxist position rejects the solutions proposed by the reactionary Arab nationalists, who would subordinate to themselves and sacrifice for their own benefit the national rights and interests of the Jewish people.

The Marxist position on the question of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine is:

a) That only an independent Palestine will create the conditions for the free, national development of the Jewish Yishuv, which will thus realize its equal national rights side by side with the Arab people whose free national development in a united Palestine will be assured by the guarantee of the equality of its national rights;

b) That this calls for Arab-Jewish struggle against all schemes for the partitioning of Palestine, since partition would make impossible any free national development of the Jews and Arabs in Palestine, for it would transform the split-up portions of the country into mere military reservations of British, American, or Anglo-American imperialism;

c) That this also calls for a united Jewish-Arab struggle against all reactionary and imperialist schemes of fake independence as perpetrated, for example, by British imperialism in Trans-Jordan;

d) That the realization of the national rights of the Jewish Yishuv *will create a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine*. It will not be the national homeland for the Jewish people of other countries, whose rights, well-being, and forms of national existence will be realized and developed in each of these countries in accord with the concrete conditions prevailing in each and on the basis of the common struggles of their peoples for the uprooting of fascism and anti-Semitism, for democracy, for peace, for equal rights, and for general social progress;

e) That the final complete and permanent solution of the Jewish question will be attained only under Socialism on the basis of the principles formulated by Lenin and Stalin and as developed in the Soviet Union's solution of the national question.

In our own use of the slogan of "A Jewish National Homeland in Palestine," though we correctly coupled it with the demand for a free and democratic Palestine, we did not, with sufficient clarity and consistency, differentiate our conception of the slogan from that of the Zionist movement, thus weakening our entire position.

5. In the struggle for the rights of Jews to immigrate to and settle in Palestine, we have insufficiently resisted the harmful activities of certain Zionist groups and of certain leading elements of the Joint Distribution Committee. These people aim to make Palestine the only place of immigration for Jewish refugees. This plays into the hands of the British imperialists in their game of promoting antagonisms between the Jews and

Arabs and of preventing their collaboration in Palestine.

The report of the Anglo-American Commission is basically an effort to establish an understanding for Anglo-American imperialist collaboration in Palestine at the expense of both Arabs and Jews, excluding the United Nations from that part of the world, and aiming to strengthen imperialist oppression in Palestine and in the whole of the Middle East. It has aggravated the question of Jewish immigration into Palestine instead of helping to solve it. The recommendation for the admission of 100,000 Jewish refugees into Palestine is being used by both the British and the American governments to intensify Arab-Jewish antagonisms and to try to strengthen their respective rival positions there—Britain with the Arab League and America with the Zionist movement—each imperialist power seeking at the same time the support and collaboration of both Jewish and Arab reactionaries.

The fate of the Jewish refugees in the camps in Germany and elsewhere is of deep concern to the Jewish people and to the democratic forces of all peoples. It is therefore necessary to intensify the fight for the demand that the United Nations assume responsibility at once for these refugees, that it seek to secure the widest opportunities for the immigration of these refugees into the countries of the United Nations, and that it provide all the means necessary for this. We must especially demand broader opportunities for the Jewish refugees to enter and settle in the United States.

We favor the right of Jews to immigrate to and settle in Palestine, on the basis of Arab-Jewish agreement for the realization of this right under joint Arab-Jewish control. We must make it clear, at the same time, that the salvation of the European Jews does not lie in their so-called "Exodus" from Europe, as advocated by Zionists, but on the road of the democratic struggle of the people headed by labor, for the uprooting of fascism, anti-Semitism, and reaction, for the development and consolidation of the new democracies of Europe.

6. These errors result primarily from insufficient alertness to the pressure of Zionist and other bourgeois-nationalist currents and from insufficient resistance to these pressures. It is,

therefore, necessary to correct our policies and especially their execution. We must win the Jewish toiling masses, first of all the workers, to the Marxist position on the Jewish question as on all others, and to do so in the very process of struggle for labor unity and for the democratic unity of the people against fascism, reaction, and anti-Semitism.

7. Summing up our position on Palestine we must say:

a) The basic task there is joint Jewish-Arab struggle to end British or Anglo-American imperialist rule and military occupation and to establish an independent and democratic Palestine state of Jews and Arabs, guaranteeing alike the interests and rights of both nationalities;

b) Only in an independent and democratic Palestine will the Jewish Yishuv, the same as the Arab people, be able to realize its right to a national existence, and to develop as a Jewish national homeland for the Jewish people of Palestine on the basis of self-government;

c) A major task in the struggle for the independence of Palestine is the joint Arab-Jewish fight, supported by all progressive and anti-imperialist forces, against the British and Anglo-American imperialist schemes for the partition of Palestine or for some fraudulent "independence" maneuver similar to the one in Trans-Jordan, based upon the collaboration with imperialism of the Jewish and Arab reactionary forces;

d) The right of Jews to immigrate and settle in Palestine will be realized only in agreement between Jews and Arabs for the common struggle for an independent and free Palestine of Arabs and Jews; and

e) All progressive and labor forces in Jewish life must unite for joint struggle for the above people's program for Palestine—a program of action for non-Zionists, as well as for the democratic elements in the Zionist movement, as is demonstrated in the Jewish Yishuv itself.

8. To meet the immediate practical problems of the Palestine situation we urge support for the program of action submitted by the Morning Freiheit Association to the American Jewish Conference, containing the following propositions:

I. That the American Jewish Conference shall appeal at once to President Truman and to the Secretary General of the United Nations, asking them to recommend to the Security Council of the United Nations (a) that the United Nations assume immediately full responsibility for the fate and maintenance of the 100,000 Jewish refugees in German camps, and to intervene with the countries of the United Nations that they open their doors to the immigration and settlement of the Jewish refugees and to provide for that the necessary means; (b) that Britain shall transfer Palestine at once to the trusteeship of the Big Three in the United Nations for the purpose of setting up Palestine as an independent and democratic State of Arabs and Jews that will guarantee the equal national rights of both peoples; and (c) that the United Nations shall recommend to Great Britain the immediate withdrawal of all British armed forces from Palestine.

II. That the American Jewish Conference shall organize and send a delegation to President Truman for the purpose of achieving the widest opportunities for the entrance and settlement of Jewish refugees in the United States.

III. That the American Jewish Conference shall issue an appeal to the Jewish Agency in Palestine asking that the Agency open at once negotiations with the spokesmen of labor and other democratic forces of the Arab people in Palestine. These negotiations should seek an agreement for joint Arab-Jewish struggle for the independence of Palestine and for the purpose of reaching an agreement in favor of Jewish immigration into Palestine under joint Arab-Jewish control.

IV. That the American Jewish Conference shall undertake to rally the widest united actions of the American Jews, in collaboration with all progressive forces of the whole American people, especially with labor and the Negro people, in support of the foregoing proposals.

9. Bourgeois-nationalist pressures have colored and distorted other phases of our work in the democratic unity movements of the American Jews—in the American Jewish Congress, in the American Jewish Conference, etc. Here, too, we deal primarily with insufficient resistance to Zionist influences, with many instances of failures to present our independent position, and insufficient struggle for the Marxist positions and ideology,

especially for the leading role of the Jewish workers in the Jewish people's movements.

10. Furthermore, we have not combatted effectively the pressures of bourgeois assimilationism, which are a reflection of the Anglo-Saxon race supremacy "theories" of American imperialism. These assimilationist pressures continually hamper the Party's Jewish work. They feed nationalist tendencies as an extreme and false reaction to assimilationism, and are responsible in large measure for the fact that basic sections of progressive Jewish trade unionists either do not participate at all in the struggle of the progressive Jewish people's movements or, when they do, participate under the leadership of bourgeois nationalists. In either case, this tends to leave the field to the reactionary Social-Democrats of the *Forward-Dubinsky* group which dominates the Jewish Labor Committee.

11. Browder revisionism, including the false theory that anti-Semitism in the United States is merely and exclusively an importation from countries under fascist rule, tended naturally to facilitate the growth of both tendencies. Paving the way for the ideological subjection of the masses to American imperialism, revisionism opened the road to all bourgeois ideological influences, to bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois assimilationism. Hence, a determined fight must be made to free our work of all remnants of Browder revisionism and to overcome both bourgeois tendencies.

III. The Character of Our Work in the Jewish Nationality Group

1. The Party does not consider Communist work among the Jewish masses of America "language work" in a narrow sense, since our work has to be carried on not only in Yiddish but also in English. The facts are, first, that important parts of the Jewish nationality group, particularly large sections of Jewish workers, consider Yiddish their mother tongue and give it a primary position in political and cultural intercourse; and, second, the native-born, English-speaking Jews play an in-

creasingly larger role—in some places the leading role—in the life and struggles of the Jewish nationality group.

2. Hence, the Party views Communist work in the Jewish nationality group as the Marxist answer to the special needs, problems, and interests of the toiling masses and progressive movements of the Jewish nationality group. The Party states that there is a Marxist, a Communist, answer to the special needs and problems of the nationality group, and that we must combat the efforts of the bourgeoisie and Social Democrats to establish a monopoly in the life of the Jewish nationality group. This places great responsibility upon Jewish Communists and the Party as a whole to strengthen our work and ties with the Jewish masses. Communists and their progressive allies can and must become the recognized leaders of the masses—workers, farmers, professionals, small businessmen—in the nationality group.

3. It has become evident that the Jewish nationality group, as is true of other American nationality groups, possesses a relative stability and inner vitality which requires that the Communist Party supply Marxist leadership to its needs and problems as a nationality group. This is in no contradiction to the Leninist principle of the organizational and political unity of the working class. This principle is directly embodied in the vanguard Party of the working class—the Communist Party—and also to a degree in other progressive political organizations of labor and in the trade unions. Hence, we cannot have separate national group Communist organizations or trade unions. But mass organizations of a fraternal, cultural, or relief character, organizations called into existence to meet special needs and problems of a nationality group, can function most effectively and properly when organized as nationality groups in character, composition, and leadership, joined in many instances with other similarly organized nationality groups. In such organizations the political and organizational unity of the American working class can be achieved and is being achieved by the work of its vanguard, the Communists.

4. Experience has demonstrated that Communist leadership in the life of the masses of the Jewish nationality group makes

possible the development of Marxist answers to the problems of achieving complete integration with general American life, as against the answers supplied to these problems by bourgeois nationalists, bourgeois assimilationists, and Social-Democrats. The Marxist answer to the problems of integration is based on the objective fact that the Jewish nationality group, like other nationality groups in the United States, is a progressive factor in the democratic development of the American nation. The growth along progressive lines of the nationality group is proving to be a necessary stage toward the voluntary and complete integration of all the component elements of the American nation. Many factors have combined to develop the nationality group in America as a progressive stage in the growth of the American nation. These factors are: the history of our country; its economic and political structure; the origin of our people from many nations and cultural strains; the historical process of resistance to the rigid attitudes of the Anglo-Saxon ruling classes to keep the masses of other national origins in a position of general inferiority—economic, political, social—and to hold them in ideological and cultural subjection by manifold pressures of forced assimilation falsely called Americanization; and increasing political and cultural intercourse between the American masses and the democratic forces of the countries and nations of their origin. It will be necessary for Marxists to carry through a thorough study of the concrete process of growth of the nationality groups and the perspectives of their further development.

5. Jewish bourgeois nationalism seeks to perpetuate a national Jewish identity around Zionism and a Jewish state in Palestine, while accepting forced and mechanical assimilation of American Jews in all respects except religion. As against this, Communists must lead the American Jewish masses to the building of a progressive Jewish nationality group life—cultural, social, and in relations with Jews of other countries, especially with the Jews of Birobidjan and with the Soviet Jews in general. In doing so, we must combat all tendencies to separatism and isolation, fighting for the full equality of the Jewish masses to become freely and completely integrated in all

phases of general American life and to participate actively in the building of the American nation, thus bringing the Jewish masses ever closer to the labor movement and to the Communist Party. This demands that Party organizations carry on systematic work in their own name among the Jewish masses.

6. Jewish bourgeois assimilationism, which has also had its influence within the ranks of the Party, seeks to impose upon the Jewish masses the imperialist ideology of Anglo-Saxon race "superiority." It opposes not only Zionism, but the building of a progressive Jewish life altogether, and seeks to reduce the Jewish nationality group to a religious community. As against this, the Communists must fight for complete and effective equality of all nationality groups as the first prerequisite for their free and full integration into general American life. The Communists must expose the reactionary and imperialist character of forced bourgeois assimilationism and fight for the right of the nationality groups to develop a progressive nationality group life as the only democratic road to the historic goal of integration into general American life. We must consistently expose and combat the reactionary Jewish Social-Democrats, not only as agents of American imperialism in the labor movement, but also as the direct allies of the Jewish bourgeois assimilationists and reactionary nationalists; not only as the betrayers of the interests of the working class and of the American people as a whole, but also as the betrayers of the Jewish people.

7. The struggle for a progressive, anti-fascist and people's mass culture is one of the basic elements of the struggle against bourgeois nationalism and assimilationism in the American Jewish nationality group. By establishing and developing close cultural relations between the American and Soviet Jews, the latter being the leaders in the field of Jewish culture, it will be possible to enrich American Jewish cultural life with a progressive and consistently anti-fascist content. This will stimulate the growth in the United States of a progressive American Jewish culture, reflecting the aspirations of the working class and its historic, leading role in the liberation movements of the people. We must carry on the struggle for such

a culture in order to combat the efforts of bourgeois nationalism to confine Jewish cultural life in America to the enjoyment of the products of Palestinian Hebrew culture by the wealthy and educated groups, as well as to combat the efforts of bourgeois assimilationism to cut the American Jews off altogether from a progressive mass Jewish cultural life and to attach to the so-called superior Anglo-Saxon culture the more educated and wealthy groups among the American Jews. Both bourgeois positions—nationalist and assimilationist—would reserve culture to select groups of upper class circles. Communists must fight for the cultural activity of the masses, for a people's culture, for a progressive Jewish mass culture in the American Jewish nationality group, just as we fight for a progressive mass culture of the American people as a whole. The democratic forces of the American Jewish nationality group have the historic task of promoting and building the progressive culture of the Jewish people and to help build the progressive culture of the American nation. In this connection, we especially emphasize the need in New York City of supporting the strengthening of the bilingual School for Jewish Studies.

8. The question of language in the Jewish nationality group, as in the others, has to be settled on this basis. American Jews use either English or Yiddish. Considerable numbers are bilingual. Hence, our work has to be carried on in these two languages, and Communist actives and leaders in the Jewish national group must aim to be able to use both languages. In the coming period, we must especially concentrate on overcoming the long standing neglect of Jewish work in the English language. We must raise it to the level of crucial importance, without in any way weakening our work in Yiddish, and develop the closest and organic collaboration between the activities conducted in both languages in the one field of Jewish work. We strongly urge the most active support to the new anti-fascist monthly magazine, *Jewish Life*, published in English by the Morning Freiheit Association. At the same time, we must energetically combat the tendency to underestimate the work in English, as well as the tendency to belittle

the work in Yiddish, since both tendencies are harmful to the Party's work among the Jewish masses.

9. In considering the relative position of Yiddish and English in the Jewish nationality group, the following must be taken into account: (a) both bourgeois nationalism and assimilationism oppose the development and cultivation of the Yiddish language; (b) the growth of close cultural relations of the American Jews with the Soviet Jews, especially with the growth of Birobidjan as the Socialist home land of a developing Jewish nationality in a system of Soviet Republics, as well as the cultural relations with the Jewish communities in the new democracies of Europe, greatly strengthen the position of Yiddish in the American Jewish nationality group; (c) while important sections of American Jews maintain Yiddish as their primary language in social and cultural life, the objective processes of integration continue to undermine the position of Yiddish, tending to make the English language dominant in general economic and political life, with bilingualism becoming an outstanding feature in the Jewish nationality group.

The conclusion must therefore be that the Yiddish language, historically the common language and basic means in modern times of cultural intercourse between the majority of Jews in various countries, will continue to play a big and, for a time, decisive role in the struggle for a progressive mass Jewish culture in America. But, at the same time, a continually growing section of American Jews will find progressive Jewish cultural expression in English, with an increasingly larger number finding it in both languages. Hence, the spread of Yiddish and its cultivation among the masses of American Jews is an inseparable part of the struggle for a progressive Jewish mass culture in the United States, along with concentrated efforts for the production and propagation in English of progressive Jewish cultural values, at the same time making available for the English-speaking Jews the treasures of Jewish people's culture embodied in the Yiddish language.

10. It is the task of Communists to find and present the Marxist answer to the needs and problems of the Jewish people.

ple as a people. According to the Leninist position, it is a people having only its national character and culture as common national attributes. Hence, it is not a single nation and is incapable of acting as such. But the Jews of all countries are capable, in the present period, of fighting as a people, in unity with all democratic forces, for uprooting fascism and anti-Semitism, for equality of rights, for a progressive mass Jewish culture, for the rehabilitation and upbuilding of Jewish life in the liberated countries, for help to the free national development of the Yishuv in an independent Palestine state of Arabs and Jews, and for help to the upbuilding of the Jewish Autonomous Region in Birobidjan.

While participating actively in the united anti-fascist activities of the Jewish people of all countries, the progressive forces of the American Jewish nationality group—and in the first place of the Jewish workers and especially the Communists—have the historic task of becoming an ever more intimate and organic part of the progressive movements of the American people as a whole, of the developing labor-democratic coalition to check and defeat the reactionary imperialist offensive of the monopolies. Only thus will the interests and rights of the American Jewish people, as well as the interests of the American people as a whole be effectively defended. Only thus will the American Jewish masses be able to make an effective contribution to the progress and well-being of the Jewish people of other countries.

11. Communists must systematically popularize among the masses the Marxist solution formulated by Lenin and Stalin, of the national and colonial questions in general and of the Jewish question in particular, as offering the only complete and final solution, which becomes possible only with the abolition of the capitalist system of class and national oppression and the establishment of Socialism.

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